1: Anonymous
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Baltic States RB1

[For historical background and international relations of the Baltic States from the 12th century through 1938, see cat. 116, pp. 13-28; 62-89. --Analyst]

2: Milosz S-5 (no date)1953 El Europe
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197 that two different languages entered into use there: the masters, that is the landholders, spoke German (in Estonia and Latvia) and Polish (in Lithuania) in part because the newcomers brought with them their own language and customs, and in part because the local nobility adopted them. The common people, however, spoke their native tongue and preserved their cultural heritage from a legendary past. After the First World War, these three countries ceased to be provinces of the Russian Tsardom and became independent. Radical agrarian reforms curbed the influence of the great landowners. The native tongues became the official languages, while literature and education restored popular traditions.

161 241 In 1939, the population of these three states numbered about six million, that is, a little more than the population of Chile, a little less than that of Sweden. They were agricultural countries whose economies were maintained by a well-organized exportation of bacon, eggs, butter, grain, and fowl to Western Europe. In this, as well as in other respects, they resembled Denmark. Whoever knows the patterns of farming life can easily picture the mode of existence of these Baltic regions. A widespread system of 511 cooperatives helped the farmer sell his products. His standard of living, judging by his appearance, his house and his diet, was higher than that of the Slavonic countries, 162 with the possible exception of Czechoslovakia. Most Es- 186 tonians and Latvians were Protestant; most Lithuanians, Catholic. All three nations were characterized by obstinate patriotism, or even chauvinism—which is understandable in terms of their hard past. Militarily, all three were defenseless.

● 175 648 The fate of these states was decided in the talks between Molotov and Ribbentrop. In the fall of 1939, Molotov demanded military bases; the Baltic governments hurried

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to grant them. (The press of all three countries consecrated much space, at the time, to articles proclaiming lasting, unshakeable friendship for the kind and powerful neighbor to the East.) In June 1940, on the pretext that Soviet soldiers stationed in these bases had not been assured proper security, the Red Army crossed the borders of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, the NKVD moved into power, and all former state machinery ceased to exist.

My account of the Baltic states is not derived from books or manuscripts. The first sunlight I saw, my first smell of the earth, my first tree, were the sunlight, smell, and tree of these regions; for I was born there, of Polish-speaking parents, beside a river that bore a Lithuanian name. I am familiar with the events of the past years not from the dry notes of historians; they are as vivid for me as the faces and eyes of people one knows well.

The invasion of the Spanish must have been an appalling experience for the Aztecs. The customs of the conquerors were incomprehensible; their religious ceremonies, strange; the paths of their thought, impossible to follow. The invasion of the Red Army was no less of a shock for the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians. Of course, the older people remembered the days of the Tsars; yet this was completely different, and much worse. In the years that had elapsed since the fall of Tsarism, Russia had not evolved closer toward Europe but further away, toward principles of social organization Europe had never before known. The thinking and reactions of these conquerors were just as alien to the conquered as the arcanum of Catholic theology and the Castilian concept of honor had been to the Aztecs.

New general elections were ordered immediately. But these elections had nothing in common with the elections held before then. There was a single list of candidates,

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
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in the Soviet Union itself prior to the War against Hitler. They are almost wholly isolated. Information concerning the cultural life of the Albanian people is limited to what can be obtained from broadcasts over the government radio station.

Hoxha did not join forces with Marshal Tito when that leader broke with the Kremlin, but was soon made aware that Albania was wholly isolated and that his Yugoslav neighbor gave asylum to dissidents who plotted a *coup d'état*. That such an undertaking might well meet with success seems probable. But Italy retains its interest in the strategic and economic advantages of the Albanian area, and its assent would be required; and currently, with the struggle for Trieste in the foreground, no entente is conceivable. The Russians apparently maintain a small body of troops in the vicinity of Tirana, but have in no other wise manifested great concern. Apparently they consider Hoxha a negligible problem child. It is apparent, however, that the Russian garrison makes impossible any attempt to overthrow the dictatorship from within the country.

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The fate of the three erstwhile Baltic Republics—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—illustrates the sad truth that in troubled and imperialistic parts of the world it does not pay to be a small nation. Each of the three had a solid folk or tribal core round which language, mores, and religious tradition had developed. For brief periods each managed to acquire a precarious independence. But they lay along the great Baltic seacoast route from Western Europe. German colonization efforts, spearheaded by the Teutonic Knights, went this way, and later came solidly entrenched land barons. There were periods of Swedish and Polish domination. Finally, as a result of the Treaty of Nystad, which in 1721 ended the Swedish

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wars, and of the Third Partition of Poland, all three countries were ceded to Russia. At first the Czars governed rather benevolently, but by the middle of the nineteenth century the three had been absorbed into the "Northwest Territory"; and stern measures of Russification were resorted to. In Lithuania, for example, only Russian might be spoken. Monastic schools were closed. The Polish and Lithuanian languages were forbidden. Many thousands of persons were deported.

After World War I broke out, the three suffered by reason of the wavering fortunes of the belligerents. In 1918 they were the scene of sanguinary fighting between remnants of the German army, invading Bolshevik troops, and hastily formed armies of national liberation. The Poles also intervened. Finally, however, all three states were declared independent, and governments were formed. A period of uneasy tranquillity followed, but the predominatingly peasant population achieved a measure of prosperity. Then the Pact of August, 1939, between Stalin and Hitler and the subsequent erasure of Poland from the map of Europe inaugurated intense tribulation along the Baltic. Germans were evacuated from Latvia and Estonia. All three Republics were compelled to sign agreements with Russia permitting the establishment of military bases. Thousands fled, and countless other thousands were deported. Next came the aftermath of the Nazi declaration of war on Russia. In a very short time Hitler had the Baltic coasts under his heel, and the expulsion and liquidation of Jews began. Finally the German armies retreated, the Russians entered, and the status of the "Northwest Territory" was restored.

Elections followed, and as a matter of course pro-Communist governments were established. It should be noted that only in Estonia had a native minority of any size favored the Communist cause. Moreover, the religious affiliations of the

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
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K, 162 and Karelian plays.[21] If these figures reflect the ethnical composition of Karelia more or less accurately, they would mean that the Karelo-Finnish element has been reduced to one-quarter of the total population of the country.

III. THE BALTIC SOVIET REPUBLICS

Ba. 101 Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania are usually linked together under the collective name of 'Baltic States', but there is a considerable difference between Latvia and Estonia on the one hand and Lithuania on the other.

The common fate which befell the three Baltic sovereign States in 1939–40 established an understandable feeling of solidarity between the populations of these countries annexed by Soviet Russia; yet historically and culturally a considerable cleavage exists between the Lithuanians and the other two Baltic nations. In the first place the Lithuanians having formed part of the medieval Lithuanian-Russian State are historically more closely connected with the Russians than the Latvians or the Estonians. Secondly, the majority of Lithuanians have not been exposed to the same strong German influence as Latvians or Estonians. The three peoples, however, have in common their ties with the West to which the Lithuanians are linked by their Roman Catholic religion.

In their relationship to Russia the three Baltic countries also fulfil different functions. Latvia and Estonia serve Russia as a way of access to the Baltic Sea and Lithuania acts primarily as a bulwark against Polish nationalism.

TWO RUSSIAN METHODS

Ba. 175 177 The history of the Baltic Provinces shows that Russians have applied both harsh and lenient methods in the endeavour to keep them under their rule. The 'harsh method' was used by Ivan the Terrible during the Livonian War which lasted twenty-five years (1558–83). Soviet historians paid special attention to Ivan's Baltic policy and one of them, P. Y. Vipper, even described the Livonian War as a 'just war, not a war of aggression'. Ivan's way in dealing with the occupied Eastern Livonia – Eastern Estonia and Eastern Latvia in terms of modern geography – consisted in energetic measures of assimilation, in distributing the confiscated land among Russian boyars and in building Russian Orthodox Churches in the conquered towns.[22] In brief, Ivan ignored the wishes of the occupied Baltic territories and set out to establish a truly Russian order. Vipper, who mentions all these facts in his biography of Ivan, fails to conclude from them that they accounted for the termination of Russian rule in Livonia.

Peter the Great, who, 150 years after Ivan the Terrible annexed

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Estonia and parts of Latvia to the Russian Empire, acted differently and left intact the internal order which he had found there. Peter and his successors, who enlarged Russia's Baltic domain, respected that order with all its shortcomings, especially the tyrannic rule exercised by a German Baltic upper class over Latvians and Estonians. This policy of non-interference was observed to the end of the nineteenth century, up to the reign of Czar Alexander III who curbed the influence of the German Baltic barons and embarked on a policy of Russification.

The Soviet régime faithfully copied the 'iron hand' method of Ivan the Terrible in all questions concerning the internal administration of the Baltic Provinces, but at the same time took over the imperialistic will of Peter the Great as far as the Baltic Sea was concerned. The men in the Kremlin, therefore, never considered the loss of the Baltic Provinces after the October Revolution as the last word of history. They always felt that the separation from Russia of the Baltic coastal areas ran contrary to the lessons of history and geography. Although recognizing the independence of the Baltic States *de jure* and concluding non-aggression treaties with them the Soviet ruling circles never accepted their independence *de facto*. No Russian communist was able to reconcile himself lightheartedly to the establishment of bourgeois régimes in the Baltic countries. The revolutionary movements of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania had been organically linked with Russian Bolshevism, and the failure of the Baltic communists to stay in power was thus an implicit failure of the Russian Soviet Government. It was bound to be avenged at an opportune moment.

THE BALTIC DIASPORA IN THE U.S.S.R.

In the inter-war period the Soviet leaders and even the Russian people could never lose sight of the Baltic problem since a large number of Latvians, Estonians and Lithuanians continued to live in their midst despite the existence of independent Baltic States. Latvians, Estonians and Lithuanians, the latter to a lesser extent, were 'peoples of the Soviet Union' long before the transformation of the Baltic countries into Soviet Republics.

It is true that there was no 'Little Latvia' or 'Little Estonia' in the form of a special territorial unit within the framework of the U.S.S.R. on the same lines as 'Little Rumania' – the Moldavian A.S.S.R. or 'Little Finland' – the Karelian A.S.S.R. None the less the tens of thousands of Latvians and Estonians who were scattered all over the Soviet Union fulfilled the same propaganda functions as those exercised in other cases by special Autonomous Republics.

The Baltic diaspora in the Soviet Union had various origins. There was first of all a strong Latvian and Estonian peasant immigration into

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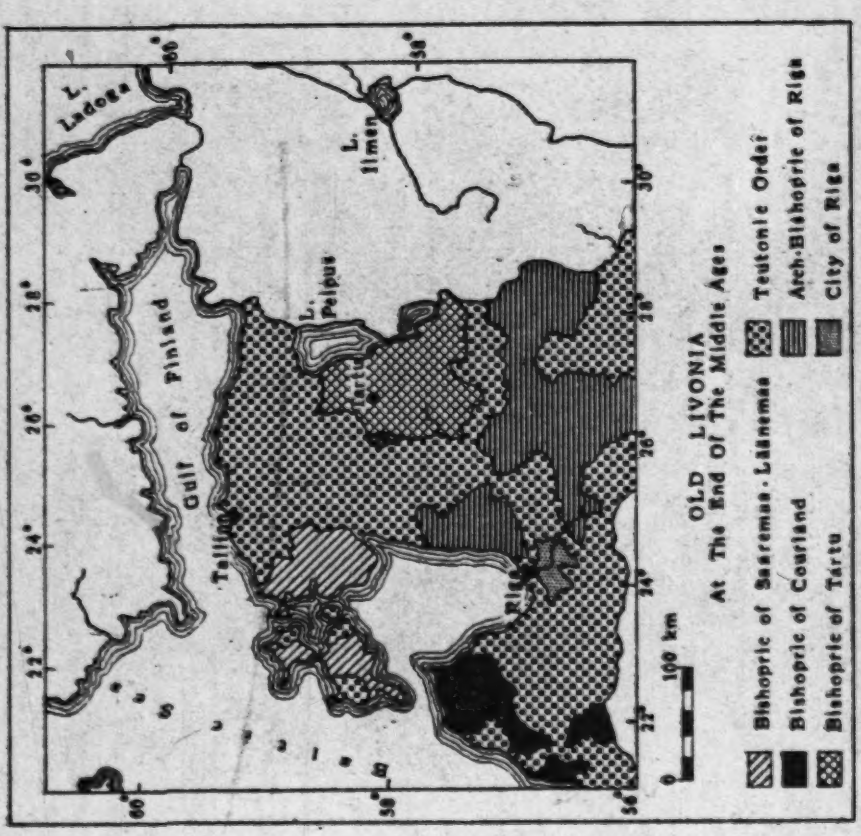

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